

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 04923 01 OF 02 061007Z
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13
DLOS-09 OES-06 EB-08 SAL-00 COME-00 INT-05 /102 W
-----061015Z 081372 /11

O R 060925Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6714
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 4923

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EFIS, PFOR, JA, UR
SUBJECT: SONODA VISIT TO MOSCOW: ISSUES

REF: TOKYO 4857

SUMMARY: CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY SONODA WILL BE RECEIVED
BY SOVIET LEADERS APRIL 6. IMMEDIATE ISSUES BEHIND VISIT INCLUDE
SOVIET INSISTENCE ON EXPLICIT LINKAGE OF NORTHERN TERRITORIES
TO TWO HUNDRED MILE ZONE; FISHING RIGHTS WITHIN JAPANESE
TERRITORIAL WATERS; FORM FISHERIES AGREEMENT TO TAKE;
AND SIZE OF CATCH QUOTAS. JAPANESE SPECULATE THAT WHILE
SOVIETS MAY BE MOTIVATED BY DESIRE TO FORCE REMOVAL
OF LONG-TERM OBSTACLE TO IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS, THEY
MAY END UP DAMAGING RELATIONSHIP SEVERELY. SOVIETS IN
TOKYO SAY THEY HAVE NO DESIRE TO JEOPARDIZE RELATIONS
AND MAINTAIN THAT MOSCOW'S POSITION RELATED SOLELY
TO FISH. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING MEETING TO DISCUSS TIMING OF US-JAPAN
GIFA CONSIDERATION BY DIET, FONOFF FIRST EAST EUROPEAN
DIVDIR TOGO BRIEFED EMBOFFS ON PROCESS OF FISHERIES
NEGOTIATIONS LEADING UP TO CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY SONODA'S
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 04923 01 OF 02 061007Z

SPECIAL MISSION TO MOSCOW APRIL 5. MAIN ISSUES WERE FOURFOLD,
TOGO BEGAN, INCLUDING NORTHERN TERRITORIES, FORM OF AGREEMENT,
SOVIET FISHING RIGHTS WITHIN JAPANESE TERRITORIAL
WATERS, AND CATCH QUOTAS.

2. TERRITORIAL ISSUE

OF THESE, TERRITORIAL ISSUE BY FAR MOST IMPORTANT. SINCE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN MARCH 15, SOVIETS HAVE INSISTED ON DESCRIBING WATERS ENCOMPASSED BY 200-MILE ZONE IN LANGUAGE OF FEBRUARY 24 COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREE, WHICH EXPLICITLY INCLUDES NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISLANDS THAT JAPANESE CLAIM. JAPANESE HAD HOPED THAT SOVIETS WOULD PERMIT USE OF LANGUAGE REFERRING TO INITIAL PROCLAMATION OF 200-MILE ZONE BY SUPREME SOVIET, WHICH DOES NOT DEFINE WATERS PRECISELY. JAPANESE ACCEPTANCE OF CURRENT SOVIET POSITION, TOGO WENT ON, WOULD REPRESENT FIRST TIME GOJ HAD ACKNOWLEDGED SOVIET SOVEREIGNTY OVER NORTHERN TERRITORIES IN DOCUMENT BINDING UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND WOULD DEMOLISH LEGAL BASIS FOR JAPANESE CLAIM. ACCEPTANCE STRONGLY OPPOSED BOTH BY GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC, PROMPTING PRIMIN FUKUDA TO TAKE EXTRAORDINARY STEP OF SENDING CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY SONODA TO MOSCOW WHEN SOVIETS SHOWED NO SIGNS OF BENDING.

3. FORM OF AGREEMENT

DURING PRELIMINARY ROUND OF TALKS BETWEEN SOVIET AND JAPANESE FISHERIES MINISTERS IN FEBRUARY, JAPANESE THOUGHT THEY IN ACCORD TO WORK ON PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT TO COVER THIS YEAR'S FISHING, WHICH WOULD NOT REQUIRE DIET APPROVAL. THEY TOLD SOVIETS THAT FULL-FLEDGED AGREEMENT REQUIRING DIET APPROVAL COULD PROBABLY NOT BE CONSIDERED UNTIL NEXT MAY. WHEN FORMAL TALKS BEGAN MARCH 15 SOVIETS RAISED BASIC

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 04923 01 OF 02 061007Z

ARTICLES CONTAINING ELEMENTS THAT COULD INFRINGE ON RIGHTS OF JAPANESE CITIZENS. TO THESE GOJ COULD NOT AGREE WITHOUT DIET APPROVAL. SOVIETS PUT DEADLINE OF APRIL 1 ON NEGOTIATIONS, AFTER WHICH JAPANESE FISHERMEN WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE NEW 200-MILE ZONE. URGENT JAPANESE EXPLANATIONS OVER NEXT FOURTEEN DAYS THAT SOVIET CONCERNS COULD BE TAKEN CARE OF IN SUBSTANCE BUT NOT IN FORM WERE TO NO AVAIL, WITH DEADLINE ALMOST UPON THEM, JAPANESE RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO SEEK DIET APPROVAL FOR PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT.

4. SOVIET FISHING IN JAPANESE WATERS

WHEN NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN, SOVIETS REQUESTED THAT TRADITIONAL SOVIET FISHING GROUNDS WOULD BE RESPECTED ONCE JAPAN EXTENDED JURISDICTION BEYOND THREE MILES, AND SUBSEQUENTLY CLARIFIED THAT THIS MEANT WITHIN THE NEW JAPANESE 12-MILE ZONE. TOGO SAID JAPANESE HAD

ESTABLISHED 12-MILE ZONE UNDER HEAVY DOMESTIC
PRESSURE EXPRESSLY TO GET SOVIETS OUT OF THESE
FISHING GROUNDS. THEY HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO REFUSE CONCESSIONS
JAPANESE OFFERED TO COMPENSATE
SOVIETS FOR LOSSES WITHIN TWELVE-MILE ZONE WITH
INCREASED ALLOWANCE IN CATCH BETWEEN TWELVE AND
TWO HUNDRED MILES, BUT SOVIETS, WHO VALUE HIGHLY
SMALL SARDINES WHICH CAME FROM AREAS CLOSE TO
JAPANESE COAST, NOT SATISFIED.

AT END OF NEGOTIATION, TOGO HAD IMPRESSION THAT
SOVS WOULD CONCEDE ON THIS ISSUE IF JAPANESE SHOWED
FLEXIBILITY ELSEWHERE.

5. CATCH ALLOWANCES

SOVIETS ARE DEMANDING BALANCE BETWEEN CATCHES IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 TOKYO 04923 01 OF 02 061007Z

BOTH ZONES. PROBLEM IS THAT HISTORICALLY JAPANESE
HAVE TAKEN ABOUT THREE TIMES AS MUCH FISH FROM SOVIET
ZONE (WHERE WATERS ARE SHALLOWER) THAN SOVIETS FROM
JAPANESE SIDE OF LINE (LAST YEAR JAPANESE TOOK 1.4
MILLION TONS WHILE SOVIETS TOOK .5 MILLION TONS). AS
RESULT, JAPANESE ANXIOUS TO STICK AS CLOSE TO
TRADITIONAL PATTERN AS POSSIBLE.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 04923 02 OF 02 061012Z
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 OES-06
DLOS-09 SAL-00 COME-00 IO-13 INT-05 /102 W
-----061015Z 081507 /11

O R 060925Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6715

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 4923

6. SOVIET MOTIVATIONS

TOGO FELT THAT SOVIET INSISTENCE ON LINKING TERRITORIAL
ISSUE TO FISH PROBLEMS STEMMED FROM DESIRE TO FORCE
SETTLEMENT OF PROBLEM WHICH HAS LONG BEEN OBSTACLE
TO IMPROVED RELATIONS. SOVS SEEMED TO BELIEVE THAT
STRONG FEELINGS WITHIN JAPAN ABOUT NORTHERN
TERRITORIES LIMITED TO SMALL CLIQUE WITHIN GOJ AND
LDP AND THAT MAJORITY OF JAPANESE WANTED BOTH FISH AND
FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. TOGO
HOPED THAT STRONG JAPANESE REACTION TO SOVIET STAND, EVIDENT
BOTH IN PRESS AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN JAPAN AND IN SENDING
SONODA TO MOSCOW, WOULD DISPELL THIS NOTION, AND MAKE
CLEAR THAT FORCING OF ISSUE, FAR FROM REMOVING OBSTACLE
TO BETTER RELATIONS WOULD JEOPARDIZE FUTURE OF ENTIRE
SOVIET-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP.

7. SOVIETS IN TOKYO (MINISTER TSEKHONYA AND POLCOUNS
KOMAROVSKY) MAINTAIN THAT THEIR POSITION WAS
BASED ON FISH AND NOTHING BUT FISH. AS FAR AS THEY
CONCERNED, THERE IS NO TERRITORIAL DISPUTE WITH
JAPAN. THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES QUESTION HAVING BEEN
SOLVED AT THE POST-WAR CONFERENCE. THE ESTABLISHMENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 04923 02 OF 02 061012Z

OF 200MILE ZONES HAS THREATENED SIXTY PERCENT (SIX MILLION
TONS) OF THEIR CATCH AND THEY MUST BARGAIN
HARD FOR EVERY POSSIBLE TON OF FISH. THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF JAPANESE TWELVE-MILE TERRITORIAL
WATERS THREATENED TO CUT SOVIETS OFF COMPLETELY FROM
TRADITIONAL FAVORITE FISH. COMMENTING INFORMALLY,
SOVIET POLCOUNS KOMAROVSKY ACKNOWLEDGED TO EMBOFF
THAT HE UNDERSTOOD WHY JAPANESE COULD NOT RECOGNIZE
SOVIET 200-MILE ZONE THAT EXPLICITLY INCLUDED ISLANDS
THEY CLAIMED. IT WAS UP TO JAPANESE TO COME UP WITH
PROPOSAL TO SOLVE IMPASSE, HOWEVER. IF CHIEF
CABINET SECRETARY SONODA WENT TO MOSCOW WITH A
CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH, HE WOULD RETURN WITH A SETTLEMENT.
DAMAGE TO JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP NOT IN SOVIET
LONG-TERM INTEREST, KOMAROVSKY CONCLUDED.
SHOESMITH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 06-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977TOKYO04923
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770119-0974
Format: TEL
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770480/aaaacrvt.tel
Line Count: 217
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 49e3c9a8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 TOKYO 4857
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2877010
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SONODA VISIT TO MOSCOW: ISSUES
TAGS: EFIS, PFOR, JA, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/49e3c9a8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009